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DREAMING OF COCKAIGNE:
INDIVIDUAL FANTASIES OF THE PERFECT WORKPLACE¹

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ABSTRACT

The literature on organizations is replete with ideal-type-theories. Most of them take the whole organization as their level of analysis and study the ideal organization from an objective and macro point of view (e.g. the bureaucracy). Less is known, however, about what the ideal organization might look like from the employees', micro, and subjective point of view. There are theories available about this ideal site, but most of them describe particular "spots" (e.g. motivation, satisfaction) from an objectivist point of view. Inspired by the medieval myth of the Land of Cockaigne, immortalised in Bruegel The Elder's 1567 painting, this paper presents an empirical study of the perfect workplace, according to the subjective perspective of the individual employee. Seventy-seven subjects from a single organization were interviewed. The only question they were asked was "Please, imagine the perfect workplace. It can be different from any organization you may have known until now. Can you please describe how it looks?" Results suggest that most people define the ideal workplace in reference to their current organization. As such, the ideal is an improvement of the real. This suggests that, at work, people have difficulty in imagining "Big Rock Candy Mountains". The implications of the apparent prevalence of the reality principle over the pleasure principle are discussed, and their impacts for both the theory and practice of managerial psychology are presented.

KEY WORDS: Cockaigne, authentizotic organization, perfect workplace

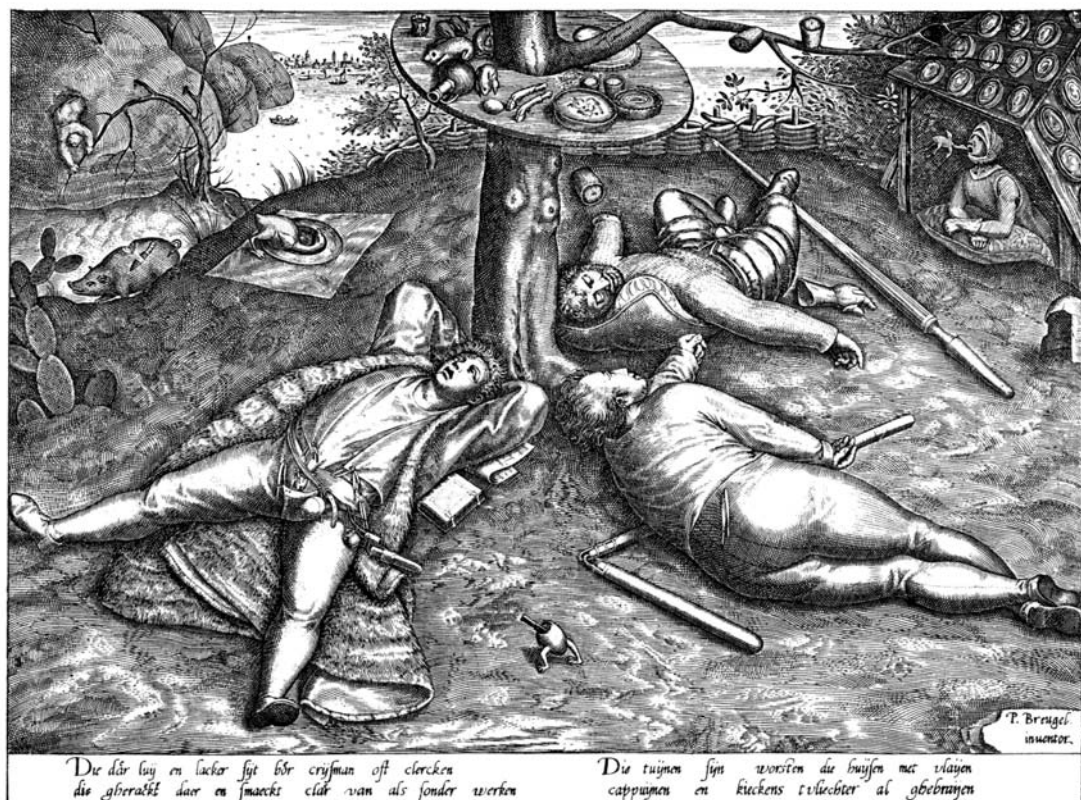
“So that those who go there, if and when, will truly be able to say: Amen” (Pleij, 2001, p.36)

This paper is about the possible organizational equivalents of the wonderful Land of Cockaigne. Or, more exactly, it discusses how people idealize the perfect workplace. Cockaigne is an imaginary country of unknown location, sometimes confused with other legendary places such as Cuccagna, a small country not too far from Germany where a volcano filled with boiling broth is situated, or the district of Bengodi, immortalised by Giovanni Bocaccio and made famous for its mountain of grated Parmesan cheese. The descriptions of such fantastic places allowed people in Medieval Europe to escape the limitations of their everyday lives and enter a perfect dreamland. Escapism to attractive imaginary places belongs to all times and cultures, with each paradise reflecting the ideals of its creators and of the society at large where it originated. The management literature, although concerned with more terrestrial issues, also shows a regular tendency to travel in the direction of imagined paradises. In fact, many authors often amaze their readers with descriptions of the perfect workplace. This paper proposes an exploration of the landscapes of modern organizational Cockaignes. It is organized as follows: the first section briefly sketches the legendary land of Cockaigne as well as its analogies with contemporary descriptions of possible organizations. For an exploration of the way people imagine their own organizational cockaignes, 77 people working for the same company were interviewed. The research question, the organization and the method are then explained. The results are analyzed in the third section. The paper closes with a conclusive section, where the limitations and avenues for further research are considered.

FROM THE LAND OF COCKAIGNE TO THE PERFECT WORKPLACE

In the Middle Ages, stories about the legendary Land of Cockaigne circulated throughout Europe. This was a country tucked away somewhere in a remote corner of the world, where ideal living conditions prevailed: “Work was forbidden, for one thing, and food and drink appeared spontaneously in the form of grilled fish, roast geese, and rivers of wine. One only had to open one’s mouth, and all that delicious food practically jumped inside. One could even reside in meat, fish, game, fowl, or pastry, for another feature of Cockaigne was its edible architecture. The weather was stable and mild – it was always spring – and there was the added bonus of a whole range of amenities: communal possessions, lots of holidays, no arguing or animosity, free sex with ever-willing partners, a fountain of youth, beautiful clothes for everyone, and the possibility of earning money while one slept”. This beautiful description, portrayed in Pleij’s (2001, p.3) book on the legend of Cockaigne, can be visually enriched with Bruegel The Elder’s 1567 painting, reproduced below.

The Land of Cockaigne, by Bruegel The Elder (1567)



The legend of Cockaigne provided an obvious escape route from earthly suffering, allowing people to dream about a completely different and much better life. Research on managerial psychology, and on management in general, often promises lands of delight. As suggested by Barley and Kunda (1992), different epochs favour different representations of the ideal. Weber's (1978) notion of a bureaucratic ideal type was different from today's anti-bureaucratic ideal types (Bauman [1989], for example, connected bureaucracy and the holocaust; for a critique, see also Heckscher and Donnellon, 1994). Different authors may also develop different conceptions of the ideal in different times. Consider, for example the post-reengineering landscape, according to Michael Hammer himself: "Having fought your way through the productivity wars of the past ten years, you're probably proud of the leanness of your operations. And rightly so. You've revamped your processes, reducing overhead and cutting out redundant activities. You've enhanced the quality of your products and services, ridding your organization of mistakes and miscommunication. And you've broken down the walls between your units, getting people to work together and share information. In short, you've created a truly efficient company" (Hammer, 2001, p.82). Hammer's description provides an example of the functionalist approach to the ideal type issue. On the other hand, Dunphy's (1996) description of the ideal model of the effectively functioning sociotechnical system, and Kets de Vries' (2001) authentizotic firms correspond to the second dominating theme in organization theory (Barley and Kunda, 1992): the humanist view.

Inheriting the longstanding tradition of organizational democracy and participation, Dunphy (1996) described the ideal model of an effectively functioning sociotechnical system as "a representative democratic community composed of semi-autonomous work groups with the ability to learn continuously through participative

action research” (p.543). The democratic organization as an adult community of equals, echoes many established schools of organizational research, from sociotechnical systems (e.g. Trist, 1978) to self-management (e.g. Cloke and Goldsmith, 2002). The democratic organization, built upon a participative management logic, has been considered by some authors as an ethical imperative (Sashkin, 1984), or a new organizational paradigm that can be contrasted with the old, Taylorist paradigm. As noted by Weisbord (1987), productive workplaces are those where management strives for human dignity, meaning and community.

The principles of the democratic organization are closely aligned with the picture emerging from the most visible quest for organizational Cockaignes in today’s world: the lists of the “most admired companies” or the “best companies to work for”, that the business press regularly produces. The companies listed in these rankings have a major difference compared with the landscapes of Cockaigne: they are real. Despite their material existence, they have something of the idyll, sharing many of Cockaignes’ characteristics, including exquisite food. Consider the following description of ideal companies as described in the business press and summarised by Kets de Vries (2001, p.102): “These companies subscribed to practices such as stock option plans, profit-sharing systems, no layoff policies, non-hierarchical structures, information-sharing systems, flexible hours, and casual dress codes. A considerable number of events held in these companies helped in creating a sense of community (e.g. Friday evening beer bashes, parties to celebrate company milestones, company picnics). Being pioneers in innovative perks also added to this positive picture. These perks included state of the art fitness centres, leisure facilities, on-site clinics, on-site childcare, great cafeterias with great food, and generous health insurance policies.” As the description makes clear, the main difference between these ideal companies and Cockaigne, is perhaps that in these

new Cockaignes work is not expressly forbidden. According to Kets de Vries (2001), these organizations can be qualified as authentizotic, meaning that they are able to integrate both individual and organizational needs. The word “authentizotic” derives from two Greek words: “authentikos”, referring to something that is worthy of trust, and “zotikos”, meaning something that is vital for life. It is such a possibility of belonging to organizations that are trustworthy, and that contribute to one’s personal identity and growth that, according to the author, creates the best companies to work for.

Available descriptions of organizational Cockaignes, as reflected in the previous paragraphs, tend to adopt the perspective of the organization as a whole. The adoption of the organizational level of analysis is perhaps natural, considering that it is the systemic functioning of the collective that qualifies the organization as “authentizotic”. Less is known, however, about what individual workers imagine as constituting the ideal organization. In fact, studies in work psychology tend to approach individual attitudes, not individual dreams or aspirations. This realist decision is, of course, understandable. In this paper, however, the proposal was to depart from realism in search of idealism, by asking people to describe what, as they imagine it, the ideal workplace would look like. The exploratory nature of this research prevented a systematic, theory-based hypotheses-testing approach. On the contrary, the study is intended to generate insights for future research. Theoretically, however, two competing departing assumptions may be advanced on the basis of Sigmund Freud’s (1911) reality and pleasure principles². These assumptions can be formalised as follows:

² The use in this paper of the reality and pleasure principles is only made by analogy. Psychodynamic interpretations of the psychoanalytical type are not offered. The defence or criticism of Freud and psychoanalysis is not proposed. For that matter, see for example Westen (1998) and Crews (1996), or Gabriel (1999) for a relation between psychoanalysis and organization. The use of these two principles in this paper is in line, for example, with Adler (1999).

(a) The pleasure principle assumption: Given the opportunity, people will imagine perfect workplaces that differ significantly from their current situation. In other words, they will invent their own organizational Cockaignes.

(b) The reality principle assumption: Even when given the opportunity to idealise the perfect organization, people will refer back to reality.

In principle, different people may approach the challenge in different ways, with some of them following the path of the reality principle, and others letting the pleasure principle dominate their views.

METHODS

The legend of Cockaigne was not meant to invite people to think about work. On the contrary: in this dreamland, people did not have to work for a living. Even better, they were not allowed to work at all.

The research question at the base of this study was asked of 77 people working for the same company, a supermarket chain. Data were collected in the context of a larger organizational climate project. To complement a large scale survey to every employee, a number of people in every company site were selected for in-depth interviewing. The company assigned a sample of informants on the basis of geographical and hierarchical criteria. The final sample is believed to be representative of the firm's composition. 47 respondents were female and 30 were male. 21 hold some kind of supervisory position, ranging from section supervisors to general managers. Average tenure was of 6.8 years, with a minimum of 1 year and maximum of 28 years. The decision to approach a single company sample has both advantages and disadvantages. The advantages include the fact that spurious effects introduced by organizational differences are eliminated. Consequently, because people are referring to a single organizational context,

differences in reaction to diverse situations are, to a great extent, attenuated. Main disadvantages refer to the fact that results may not be transferred to other samples, and that responses will possibly be influenced by the company's cultural profile. Such a homogeneity effect has been suggested, for example, by Schneider's (1987) research on the process of attraction, selection and attrition. Considering both its advantages and disadvantages, the single-site approach was selected in order to avoid the most undesired effect for the purpose of this research: taking reference to the actual work context as a departure from reality.

Data were collected through individual unstructured interviews, triggered by the following instruction: "Please, think about the perfect workplace. Not about your current job, any past job or anything you have known in any circumstance. Just imagine the perfect workplace. Can you please describe what it looks like?" After letting people speak about the perfect workplace, they were asked to describe how it differed from their current workplace. Interviews were conducted in company facilities during working time, in private rooms, and lasted between twenty and thirty minutes.

RESULTS

This section presents the results. First, a summary of the main topics of each interview is presented in Table 1. These topics were then grouped in major categories. The number of mentions obtained for the different categories are presented in Table 2.

Table 1 about here

As shown both in Table 1 and Table 2, a limited number of themes emerged in most of the interviews. In terms of frequency, the most-cited characteristic of organizational Cockaigne is a good working environment, meaning good human relations or a “member-friendly” organization. This category appeared 37 times. Other categories are related to this, namely a holding environment in the sense discussed by Kahn (2001), good colleagues or workplace harmony. The second most-cited characteristic is the salary, with 30 mentions. Two categories were mentioned 10 times (communication, supervisors), one category 9 times (work conditions and physical facilities), and two categories 8 times (emotional attachment and well-being, and organization). The 50 categories presented in Table 3 were later aggregated into five major factors: human relations and emotional well-being (H in Table 3), salary and performance management (S), physical space and quality issues (P)³, organizational factors (O), and motivation and development (M). In some cases, the correspondence between immediate categories and aggregated factors was not obvious. In these cases, interview transcripts were consulted in order to decide what factor best suited the content of the response. For example, the category collaboration could be included both in the human and organizational factors. References to collaboration, however, tended to emphasise the human side of collaboration instead of its possible structural component. As such, this category was included in the Human factor. The same procedure was used consistently throughout classification.

Table 3 about here

³ These dimensions were associated because several mentions of quality included references to the facilities, namely aesthetics, functionality and hygiene.

Aggregated results present a dominating issue in terms of the number of total frequencies: human relations and well-being with 91 references corresponding to 14 immediate categories. Motivation and development factors are distributed across a higher number of categories (17) but with a lower total frequency (52). After aggregation, salary appears as a less complex factor (4 categories) and its importance becomes mitigated in total terms: it is mentioned 34 times, less than what we see with organizational factors (37 frequencies corresponding to 9 categories). The physical environment and quality issues are less frequently cited as important for describing the perfect workplace, with 6 immediate categories accounting for a total of 21 mentions. Aggregated results suggest that the most important elements characterising the perfect workplace are the human elements, both at the individual and collective levels.

Another relevant dimension of this research has to do with the way people responded to the challenge of imagining the perfect workplace. Due to the exploratory character of the study, no previous response categories were created. Categories emerged from data. Four types of responses surfaced that appeared to be adequate for classifying the data. They were labeled as explicit realism, implicit realism, denial and idealism, and will be described and discussed below. The most common approach corresponds to the description of the ideal workplace departing, implicitly, from the current workplace. This category is labeled the “implicit realist response”, and is an adequate classification of the responses of 55 informants. The second most common approach is through a direct, explicit reference to the current workplace. This category is labeled the “explicit realist mode”, and has been used by 16 respondents. Other people have simply denied the existence of such a thing as the perfect workplace. This was called the “denial response”, and describes the approaches of 5 respondents. Finally, only one informant “traveled” in the direction of Cockaigne and even so, only

with caution. This last category is called the “idealist response”. Below, the contents of these responses are discussed. Frequencies for response categories are presented in Table 4. It should be noted, before discussing the four response types obtained, that interviews were classified in one of the four categories according to the initial mode selected. For example, after negating the existence of the perfect workplace, the denial mode responses tended to be followed by some type of description that could be classified in one of the two realist types. In this case, as mentioned, the response was classified as being of the denial type. Below, the four types of responses are discussed.

Table 4 about here

Explicit realism. Instead of imagining the perfect workplace, a significant number of respondents preferred to draw directly on their personal experience. Responses were classified as explicitly realist when some direct reference to the current situation was made in the description of the ideal workplace.

The rooting of the perfect organization in personal experience occurred in two ways: positive and negative. Some people took the opportunity to express their positive attitude toward the organization, while others were stimulated to express their dislike towards some aspect of the organization's functioning. In the first case, when asked to describe the perfect organization, people responded that "this company is not amongst the worst" or "I like this place. I enjoy the distribution business and the contact with customers." In the case of negative experiences, people mentioned that "The ideal organization was the one I found 13 years ago when I entered this company. Today it is a completely different place – for worse" or "Our organization is far from perfect. Actually, it is full of imperfections."

A final remark about the explicit realist mode should be made. As one of the informants noted, "The most important characteristic of the perfect workplace would be a good working environment. It is people in the organization and only its people that can build ideal organizations."

Implicit realism. Responses were classified as implicitly realist when indirect references to the current situation were made during the description of the ideal workplace. In most descriptions, the similarity between the perfect workplace and the current workplace were noteworthy. As one informant mentioned, "When we make a

comparison, we need to take a look around us.” Consequently, in the implicit realist mode, descriptions of the perfect workplace were conditioned by the observation of the company’s context. Referring to the policy of salary variations in different regions in use in this company, one informant said that “In the perfect workplace, everybody would earn the same salary, independently of the region where he/she works.” Other subjects responded in ways that were overly inspired in their organization’s reality: “The perfect organization is characterised by a very high service quality, optimal hygiene and the best prices in the market.” Still others noticed that in the perfect workplace barriers between sections (dairy products, butchery, bricolage, etc.) would not exist.

Denial. The denial response consisted in resisting the challenge of imagining the perfect workplace. The main reason for denying organizational cockaignes is deceptively simple: “Such a place does not exist”, as one informant pointed out. This is the straightforward version of the denial response that admits, however, more elaborated versions. Another person, for example, mentioned the utopian element in the question: “The perfect workplace? That’s Utopia! A world without problems would be a very boring place.” It should be noted that Utopia, the island about 15 miles from the coast of Latin America, is itself one the more prominent imaginary places ever discovered. So important that it takes up no fewer than ten pages in Manguel and Guadalupi’s (2000) dictionary of imaginary places. Another informant opted for demystifying organizational promised lands. Referring to an international competitor that was just preparing to enter the market (the launch of its first shopping mall was going to happen within months), he said, “I have major doubts when a company promises as much as they are promising”. And referring to his former colleagues that were joining this new

competitor, the same informant added that “they will regret their decision to leave our company in search of El Dorado.” El Dorado, as many people know, is a kingdom somewhere between Peru and the Amazon, whose capital is called Manoa. Here, gold is abundant, and viewed simply as a thing of beauty. It is far inferior to food and drink. Visitors are welcome in this country and are often tempted by the number of typical dishes found even in roadside inns, including fruit salads, parrot stews and stuffed hummingbirds (Manguel and Guadalupi, 2000).

Idealism. The idealist mode was used by only one person in the sample – and even so, with a line of realism. As this respondent said, “Well, common sense says that the perfect workplace is one where you work nine to five without major problems and no one bothering you too much. But the closest we can get to this is to work in the public sector.”

DISCUSSION

This paper suggests that when asked to idealise the perfect workplace, people tend to stay close to their real experience. In this sense, and as evidenced by personality psychologists, people may avoid ideals that they perceive as distant from their actual possibilities (e.g. Markus and Wurf, 1987). This paper thus suggests that the interplay between real and ideal, which is an enduring issue for psychoanalytic psychology, may also be relevant to organizational behavior. This last section presents the limitations and suggestions of the present research, as well as its implications, both for theory and practice.

Limitations and suggestions. This paper proposed an exploration of the imagined perfect workplace. It aimed to offer a first glimpse of the delights of a place even better than the real world's best companies to work for. However, focusing the empirical part of this research in a single organizational context, although presenting the advantages mentioned above, also has a major limitation: it is not possible to confidently extrapolate the findings to other organizations. Images of the ideal may vary from one context to another. For example, Tienari, Quack and Theobald (2002), in their exploration of the relationship between gender and the representation of the "ideal worker", found cross-societal variations. Further research could then explore imaginary workplaces in other contexts, in order to test whether these conclusions have external validity or not. Additional research could also contrast images of the ideal organization in "normal" companies and in the best companies to work for.

Implications for theory. This research examined how people describe their imaginary perfect workplace. Instead of building imaginary organizations, however, most respondents produced variations of their current organizations. In this sense, they recurred to what Freud called the reality principle, thus avoiding the pleasure principle, something predictable according to the father of psychoanalysis (see Freud 1911/1991, p.41), for whom society (via education, for example) invites people to substitute the reality principle for the pleasure principle. Several alternative explanations may also be advanced to account for these results. For example, research on personality psychology observed that a positive correlation exists between the level of general satisfaction and the distance between the ratings of real self and ideal self (Ogilvie, 1987). Therefore, people may tend to rate their ideal on the basis of the real. This may be particularly valid in the case of work life. In fact, organization and management theorists (as well as

the business press) tend to highlight the difficulties of present day organizations fighting for survival in hyper-competitive, relentlessly shifting environments (D'Aveni, 1995; Brown and Eisenhardt, 1997). Under such hostile conditions, aggressive business interventions, such as reengineering or downsizing, became normal practice (e.g. Cascio, 1995). In these threatening organizational landscapes, deep psychological bonds with organizations are becoming rare (e.g. Drucker, 2002). In other words, there may not be much space for idealism, despite the popularity of rankings of the “best companies to work for” type.

Implications for practice. In terms of implications for practice, this paper reached two major conclusions. First, it highlighted the importance of a few classic elements of managerial psychology. A gratifying work environment where there are good chances of realising one's motivations emerged as a central feature of the idealised workplace. This conclusion echoes the lessons learned from the human relations school (e.g. Roethlisberger and Dickson, 1939), as well as from the work of McGregor (1960), Herzberg, Mausner and Snyderman (1959) and Weisbord (1987). Recent theorising by Kets de Vries (2001) contributed to this literature by suggesting that it is the combination of both hygienic and motivator elements that creates work environments that are both stretching and holding (Kahn, 2001). These organizational contexts facilitate the creation of mutual trust and respect, which results in vibrant organizations with healthy individuals. This paper contributes to the organizational behaviour literature by showing that these classic elements of real organizations may constitute the essence of ideal organizations. This conclusion has pertinent practical implications, including the fact that the ideal may not be too distant from the real. As such, the synthesis of support/motivation and hygienic factors may be the path to organizational

Cockaignes. Such evidence is significantly different from the practice of many organizations, that are enchanted by management fads and fashions imposed from the external environment (e.g. Abrahamson, 1991).

The second major conclusion is that people derive their imagined workplaces from their actual experiences. Such a finding can be understood by considering self-concept theory. Tesser and Campbell (1984), for example, have shown that individuals will do anything within their power to avoid forming negative self-concepts. This research suggests that this may include, for example, accepting their actual workplace as the basis for the identification of the perfect workplace. This second conclusion may reflect one of the most enduring facets of human existence: people's dreams are an extension of their real lives and possibilities.

To conclude this expedition through the lands of Cockaigne, nothing could be better than the beautiful verses of the Spanish poet Pedro Calderon de La Barca (1600-1681):

The monarch dares the greatest dreams

And rules the realm like all good kings

The rich man dreams of all his wealth,

And all the trouble that it brings.

The poor man dreams of misery...

[...]

Our dreams are of our selfsame lives

Though no one knows wherefores or whys.

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Figure 1

The Land of Cockaigne, by Bruegel The Elder (1567)

Table 1: Individual configurations of major themes

Informant #1	Teamwork, career management, adequate salary, organizational clarity (clear goals and incentives, responsibilities, etc.)
Informant #2	Good working environment, economic justice, societal concerns
Informant #3	Loyalty across the hierarchy, good communication, clear job definition, feedback on results
Informant #4	Good product variety, good working environment, nice supervisors, good organization
Informant #5	Competent supervisors, adequate product pricing
Informant #6	Adequate performance assessment systems, just supervisors
Informant #7	Appropriate working conditions, participative management, fair salary
Informant #8	Good working environment, competence-based management
Informant #9	Respect for human dignity, teamwork
Informant #10	Workplace harmony, trust between superiors and subordinates
Informant #11	Adequate working conditions, interpersonal harmony, good salary, recognition
Informant #12	Good salary, rigorous time schedules, respect
Informant #13	Trustful supervisors, good top managers, good colleagues, participation
Informant #14	Good working environment, adequate salary, quality, lack of stress
Informant #15	Competent supervisors, good colleagues, fair salary
Informant #16	Good service, perfect hygiene, good prices
Informant #17	Good working environment, good salary, motivating jobs, pay for performance, feeling good in the company
Informant #18	Good working environment, adequate physical facilities: physical space, technology and equipment
Informant #19	Profitable, high levels of motivation, good working environment, personal growth
Informant #20	A place where one feels good, good supervisors, good prices
Informant #21	Good work organization, good working environment, competitive prices
Informant #22	Organizational justice, motivating place, adequate salary

Informant #23	Good teams, good communication
Informant #24	Good working environment, adequate remuneration
Informant #25	Concern with human resources, autonomy, participation
Informant #26	Good service, challenging industry, good working environment
Informant #27	Teamwork, collaboration, clear values, justice
Informant #28	Concern with people, trustworthy as an organization, participation
Informant #29	Responsibility, remuneration, good working conditions
Informant #30	Good labour relations, adequate remuneration, open communication
Informant #31	Good remuneration, adequate physical facilities, promising careers
Informant #32	Good working environment, adequate remuneration
Informant #33	Good working environment, adequate remuneration, interesting work
Informant #34	Good working environment, adequate remuneration
Informant #35	Economically viable, adequate conditions and remuneration, regular training
Informant #36	Good work organization, servicescape
Informant #37	Professional growth, personal growth, advancement opportunities
Informant #38	Openness, transparency, good salary, adequate work schedules
Informant #39	Adequate remuneration, good working environment
Informant #40	Good working environment, good work organization, training
Informant #41	Cross-functional coordination, good information channels, planning and organization
Informant #42	Work in itself, good products, service quality
Informant #43	Good working environment, adequate salary
Informant #44	Good working environment, adequate salary
Informant #45	Dialogue with supervisors, good working environment, good work organization
Informant #46	<i>Esprit de corps</i> , autonomy
Informant #47	Rigour, good work organization, recognition
Informant #48	Adequate salary, praise and recognition, good communication, cross-functional coordination
Informant #49	Concerned with members, good career opportunities
Informant #50	Good work organization, good working environment

Informant #51	Good work organization, good working environment, good communication
Informant #52	Mentoring, communication, regular training
Informant #53	<i>Esprit de corps</i> , teamwork
Informant #54	Career opportunities, adequate remuneration, good working environment, good working conditions
Informant #55	Good working environment
Informant #56	Recognition, organizational justice, equity, work-family balance
Informant #57	Respects the opinions of members, fulfills their needs, good physical facilities, <i>esprit de corps</i>
Informant #58	Good work organization, good working environment, rigour, communication, superior-subordinate proximity, stress management
Informant #59	Respect, good working environment
Informant #60	Concern with members, good incentive system, interpersonal harmony
Informant #61	Good salary, organizational justice, opportunities for growth, recognition
Informant #62	Good working conditions, well-being, financial stability
Informant #63	Adequate salary, good working environment, career opportunities, sense of belonging
Informant #64	Sense of belonging, no stress, interesting work
Informant #65	People are listened to, competent supervisors, good salary, family spirit
Informant #66	Good incentives, adequate salaries, good working environment
Informant #67	Good working environment, recognition, motivation, coaching
Informant #68	Good human relations, stress management, mutual trust, family-like culture, good communication across hierarchical levels
Informant #69	Human organization, adequate salary
Informant #70	Adequate work schedules, good working environment, interesting work, financial stability, opportunities for sports and creativity
Informant #71	Human organization, rigorous
Informant #72	Good communication irrespective of the position, sincerity, honesty
Informant #73	Good working environment, adequate salary
Informant #74	Camaraderie, holding environment

Informant #75	Personal well-being, good working environment, adequate remuneration
Informant #76	Good working environment, adequate tools and technologies
Informant #77	Focused on members, motivation, support

Table 2: Frequencies of immediate categories: A view of organizational cockaigne's landscapes

Autonomy and responsibility (M)	25, 28, 46	3
Career (M)	1, 31, 37, 49, 54, 63	6
Challenging industry (M)	26	1
Clarity (O)	1, 3, 27, 38, 72	5
Collaboration (H)	27	1
Colleagues (H)	13, 15	2
Communication (O)	3, 23, 30, 41, 45, 48, 51, 58, 68, 71	10
Competence (M)	8	1
Concern with people (H)	25, 28, 49, 60, 77	5
Cross-functional coordination (O)	41, 48	2
Emotional attachment and well-being (H)	17, 20, 62, 63, 64, 65, 68, 75	8
Equity (M)	56	1
<i>Esprit de corps</i> (H)	46, 53, 57, 74	4
Feedback (M)	3	1
Holding environment (H)	74, 77	2
Hygiene (P)	16	1
Incentive system (S)	60, 66	2
Interesting job (M)	17, 33, 42, 64, 70	5
Leisure opportunities (H)	70	1
Loyalty across the hierarchy (H)	3	1
Mentoring and coaching (M)	52, 67	2
Motivation (M)	19, 22, 67, 77	4
Need fulfillment (M)	57	1
Organization (O)	4, 21, 40, 41, 47, 50, 51, 58	8
Organizational justice (M)	2, 22, 27, 56, 61	5

Organizational profitability and stability (O)	19, 35, 62, 70	4
Participation (M)	7, 13, 25, 28, 65	5
Pay for performance (S)	17	1
Performance assessment (S)	6	1
Personal growth (M)	19, 37, 61	3
Product pricing and variety (P)	4, 5, 16, 20, 21, 42	6
Quality in general (P)	14, 42	2
Recognition (M)	11, 47, 48, 56, 61, 67	6
Respect (H)	9, 12, 57, 59	4
Rigour (O)	47, 58, 71	3
Salary (S)	1, 7, 11, 12, 14, 15, 17, 22, 24, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 38, 39, 43, 44, 48, 54, 61, 63, 65, 66, 69, 73, 75	30
Service quality (P)	16, 26	2
Servicescape (P)	36	1
Societal concerns (O)	2	1
Stress management (H)	14, 58, 64, 68	4
Supervisors (H)	4, 5, 6, 10, 13, 15, 21, 44, 58, 65	10
Teamwork (H)	1, 9, 23, 27, 53	5
Top management (O)	13	1
Training (M)	35, 40, 52	3
Trust and honesty (H)	10, 13, 28, 68, 72	5
Work conditions and physical facilities (P)	7, 11, 18, 31, 35, 36, 54, 57, 76	9
Work schedules (O)	12, 38, 70	3
Work-family balance (H)	56	1
Working environment (H)	2, 4, 8, 14, 17, 18, 19, 21, 24, 26, 28, 29, 32, 33, 34, 39, 40, 43, 44, 45, 50, 51, 54, 55, 58, 59, 62, 63, 66,	37

	67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 73, 75, 76	
Workplace harmony (H)	10, 11, 30, 60	4

Table 3: Aggregation of immediate categories

Factor	Number of categories	Frequencies
Human relations and emotional well-being (H)	14	91
Salary and performance management (S)	4	34
Physical environment and quality issues (P)	6	21
Organizational factors (O)	9	37
Motivation and development (M)	17	52

Table 4: Frequencies of response types

Response type	Frequency	Informants
Explicit realism	16	3, 7, 15, 25, 26, 27, 32, 34, 44, 56, 61, 65, 70, 71, 72, 76
Implicit realism	55	1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 28, 30, 31, 33, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 45, 46, 47, 48, 50, 51, 53, 54, 55, 57, 58, 60, 62, 63, 64, 66, 67, 68, 69, 73, 74, 75, 77
Denial	5	19, 43, 49, 52, 59,
Idealism	1	29